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out chunks of flesh, and can even [180] be of some slim service, similar to that which is told concerning that fellow in the "Ricciardetto." It is an ovoid, laterally flattened fish. The ray is round, vertically flattened and has three barbs on its tail. It can make a very painful and dangerous wound with the middle barb when the fish is stepped on and lashes out with its tail. Some grow to be over a meter in diameter. It lies on the bottom of quiet pools, as close as it can to the bank; it would seem to be viviparous. The yacaré, a kind of crocodile, will without warning bite the leg or arm of an unfortunate father, drag him to the bottom and there devour him.

So it is that bathing, which was so necessary to cool ourselves off in the suffocating heat, was always embittered by the presence of these maneaters.

The married woman is faithful to her husband by inclination, education and fear. There are tales of terrible revenges wreaked by husbands upon their unfaithful wives, over whom they have power of life and death. While they are single they can be and often are free in their ways. It cannot be doubted that the whites attract their interest, if matters of racial difference do not intervene, for the poorest white is always in a position to give better presents than is the richest chief.

These women love decorations and clothing, but have no use for skirts or corsets. They wrap themselves from the waist down in a blanket, and hold it up with a belt or cord which is hidden behind the fold of cloth. In addition to this they know how to distribute these rags in such a way as to accentuate their good figure and yet at the same time not encumber themselves, a skill not to be expected on first seeing them. Their dress consists of robes, and when they have any they put them all on, be it winter or summer, partly because of the nomadic existence they lead and partly because they like to do so. One might say that the saying: what wards off cold also wards off heat, is particularly applicable to them.

Both men and women love bright colors (particularly red) and variety, but they also like white cloth. When they put on any garment they always do so in such a way as to leave one arm free. The women have a high regard for the kind of shirts which we wear.

The women make their own ornaments out of leather and broken shells, achieving a certain elegance of form, though with a greater or lesser degree of rusticity. They wear, from childhood, a sort of

It is worth noting that although they are such tipplers, they do 264
not drink anything with their meals, not even water. On board ship
the Indian guests we entertained refused all beverages while they were
eating. After they had finished eating they preferred to drink water
by crouching beside the river and drinking out of one hand.

The Indians are great beggars and yet miserly with their own [209]
possessions where whites are concerned. This is understandable since
they are poor.

It occurs to me that I should mention something which, though 142
out of place here, I must set down for fear of forgetting it later: 145

The Indian boys, until they are eight or ten have disproportionately large bellies, so much so that they customarily bind them at the level of the navel. Later on they lose their bloated tummies and grow into well proportioned men.

It seems pertinent to me to say that the algarrobo belongs to 137
our family of the garrobas (Ceratonia silicua) and the botanists know
it under the name of Prosopis algarrobo. Its importance is immense
in the domestic economy of the savages and country people. It deserves close attention for this reason. The crown grows to some ten
meters in diameter but is not very dense, either because of the small
number of leaves or because of their shape, yet it affords quite a fair
amount of shade. The bark is very rough and is similar to that of the
grape vine.

The vinal (Prosopis ruscifolia) is a very small tree, yet boasts a sizeable crown. It is remarkable for its thorns which are from ten to fifteen centimeters long and sometimes a centimeter thick, and very dangerous if one gets a jab from them. The leaves, which are about the same size as acacia leaves but more pointed and somewhat rough, are said to be an effective remedy for eye ailments.

The scientific name for the chañar is Gurlioea decorticans; and of the mistol, Ziziphus mistol.

The fruit of all these trees are avidly devoured by all manner of beasts, and the algarrobo and vinal pods are the best possible fattening fodder for horses and cattle [191].

A type of fruit which is also to be found in a wild state, but in very limited quantity in my experience, is the plum. This fruit has a pleasant taste and is all the more appreciated for its scarcity.

In order to gather together in a common place, in addition to the tracks they leave they twist branches and handsful of grass at crossroads in order that their companions may know where to find them, they having prearranged the meaning of the signs. 487 201

[193] Another means of communication is by making fires. During our traveling about the Chaco we were continually surrounded by fires, either at close quarters or far away, fires which sometimes took on the proportions of colossal blazes. And often, when we thought that we were in absolute solitude, it would happen that upon approaching an Indian village we would be informed that we were expected, and we would hear tell of the order which had been observed in our march. Dur-202

They make use, moreover, of many spies and informers. In Mataco the former are called niguaiecque, and the latter gu'éicáss. 701 [203]

They apparently do have some sort of tactical organization: thus they have a general chief, subordinate chief and petty chieftains. The first is called, in Mataco, canniat tizán, the second, canniat, and as for the last, I have forgotten.

The general chiefs are chosen at second remove, that is, from among the subordinate chiefs, who, in turn, are elected by the people. Normally a marked preference is shown for the late chief's sons, provided they be of age, courageous and good. But then, of course, we must say that in these elections the same passions are present which appear amongst us in our elections.

They also have another category of persons, whom they call nyát and corresponds vaguely to the Spanish "caballero" or the "galantuomo" of southern Italy. So it is that they refer to any white persons whom they consider of quality with the name nyát. It is to be supposed that a like distinction is made among the other Indians. In Peru and wherever the Quechua language is spoken, gentlemen are called Viracocha. [554] [609]

Once the general chief has been elected the subordinate elector chiefs go to call on him when they can, which visits are celebrated with the accustomed drinking and eating orgies. A general chieftainship almost always embraces villages far removed from each other.

The Matacos call those who visit them tzicki-ác.

The authorities among the Chaco Indians play an almost purely military role. In peace time they lose practically all their prestige,

609 776 [55]

The Indians have great faith in the power of their a'hót. One of my Indian guides, Tajo ["slash" --Translator] by name (so called because he had a scar on his face) in order to prove to me the indubitable power of the a'hóts, and the crass ignorance of the whites who deny their existence, told me the following:

"It happened that a tribe was returning from a sugar plantation in the province of Salta. It was the season of algarrobo pods and one night all the people were celebrating, singing and dancing. Suddenly they became aware of the approach of a white man who was singing -- they could hear the noise made by the horse's hooves and by the large silver spurs.

"As soon as he arrived at the place where the people were gathered he halted and began to scold them for what they were doing, wishing to put a stop to their activity. The people did not like the white man's interference and said to the hayagüe ["witch doctor"--Translator] that he make him go away. The hayagüe, unable to bring this about by peaceful means said to the white who was insisting on stopping and profaning the celebration:

"'Now you will see if we are useless people and how strong is the a'hót.' He bent down, covered himself and shouted to the a'hót. 'Strike the white man down with an arrow and make him see if it is true that we are worthless people.' 'It is well,' answered the a'hót.

"Immediately a sound was heard coming up from beneath the ground, like the snapping of a stick. It was an arrow which had struck home. The white man suddenly slumped from off his horse. He was dead. The a'hót had shot the arrow into him because the white man had not wanted to believe in the a'hót."

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The whole tribe swears to have witnessed the whole thing.

It is remarkable that the object, if not of worship then at least of recognition, be of an evil nature, for in the last analysis the a'hót is nothing [203] if not an evil power or one capable of evil. If we wish to consider such a recognition as the first glimmering of a religion, then we must confess that religion has as its base, fear of evil and the desire to command it.

Those pots which are used to contain water have an indented waistline around which a rope may be passed when they need to be transported. This rope, running around the jar, is slipped over the carrier's forehead and the vessel is carried on his back, to which effect he must bend back and neck forward. This manner of transportation is no where near as graceful as that of carrying jars on the head as our country women do, and rather makes the Indian women look like beasts of burden -- however, it may well be a more hygienic way and is, in any case, more practical when traveling along half choked forest paths. 482 [115]

They have no knowledge of, and do not practice, agriculture; yet they do sometimes plant corn (which, as is well known, originated in America) and also pumpkins. When they think it is time to go and eat the crop, they harvest it. They do not grind the corn, but boil it and the pumpkins also while they are yet green -- a harvest, then, is gathered in piece meal and lasts quite a long time. In order to sow they make use of a hard wood spade in the form of a small oar, or a large spear head; the husband makes a hole in the earth, his squaw throws in the seed, covers it, and that is all. The seed is sown in a recently burned off, damp field, that is, one which has just been rained on. 241 123

The crop is owned communally by all, but they are nigardly with it concerning outsiders. While we were on the ship, most of our food having run out, we hungered for fresh provisions and vegetables, for we had been without them for more than three months. When the Indians made us a present of pumpkins and ears of corn we were more than delighted. These Indians were friendly, but later on their friendliness proved false for they killed our interpreter. The sailors managed to discover the location of the pumpkin patch and corn field and raided them by stealth. On the following day, when they returned to the cultivated plots they found that everything had been destroyed and not a single growing plant was left. We were never able to find even one of the Indians. 609

It seems, also, that the whites do not want the Indians to take up agriculture. I was told that the white settlers once [215] came upon a number of fields sown by friendly frontier Indians, and destroyed them so completely that the discouraged Indians had never again planted so much as a handbreadth of land. This action 648 241

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And while on this subject of adjectives it is worth remarking that practically all those which express the opposite of some quality, usually of a good quality, are made up of the adjective denoting that quality plus a negative particle which either precedes or follows it. Thus, for example: "true" is matt, and "false," ka-matt or mattildé, that is to say "not true." "Good" and "pretty" or "nice" are hiss and tzî, while "ugly" is kat-zía and tzitdé; "far" is tocuery, "near," tocuei-tde, which can also be expressed by ca-tu-ta, in which catú means "elbow" and by analogy "curve," "around the corner," and so forth.

These negative particles are also used with nouns. For example: [253] "remedy" or "cure" is ckia, while poison is ka-ckía ("no remedy," "no cure"). Do we not find the same type of usage in our own languages when we say "uncertain" for "not certain" and "discourteous" for "not courteous"?

One might say, however, that these Indians lack certain refinements of which our language can boast and which tend to soften certain expressions, as for instance the subtle distinction between "false" and "not true," "far" and "not near."

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Be that as it may, they still are not lacking in other distinctions, such as that existing between "stranger" and "foreigner." The former they call ajlu-taj-jlé-lé, which means "outsider," and the latter they call ic-quiomjlé-lé, that is, "he from below." And so he is, for from the Mataco point of view foreigners live "below," downriver and off past Paraguay. Upstream from them live the whites, whom they call Chihuéle.

Where did they get this word Chihuéle? Has it something to do with color? "White" is in their language pelaj, and "yellow," yaccatdé, that is, "not black," which proves that the opposite of black is for them yellow. Surely they do not consider us green or blue, however much their eyes may suffer from Daltonism. Can it be that they look upon us as red? This cannot be so either for red is icquiótt, which is a far cry from Chihuéle.

The actual fact is that Chihuéle means "good looking men."

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7

476 upon as perfectly natural, and since full reciprocity exists, such an act of apparent liberality does not even evoke feelings of gratitude in those who for the moment are the objects of it. Those who have been travelling and 574 therefore have not produced crops, or those who for some other reason have no means of subsistence for the time being, have a claim on the hospitality of their fellow-tribesmen. Even when there is nowhere a real want the successful hunter or fisher gladly shares his abundance of food with other families of the village, knowing that others will do the same to him on another occasion.

574 Native law enjoins hospitality not only to fellow-tribesmen but also to members of foreign tribes with which the Indians stand on a friendly 609 footing. The same hospitality and liberality is shown to a white man whom the Indians regard as their friend. For my own part I frequently had, both among the Tobas and the Choroti, personal experience of this Indian hospitality.

421 In spite of the liberality which appears in the relations of the different members of the community to one another, private property is strictly respected in all the tribes. We can particularly speak of »socialism» in regard to the *land*, which, as I have mentioned before, is considered to belong to the people in general; no Indian, not even a chief, has a direct claim to any part of it above his fellows. The flocks of sheep and goats feed on the common pasture. Similarly the natural products of the country, such as game, fish, wild fruit, honey, and fire-wood, are common property. But as soon as an individual family has taken possession of a piece of this common land for cultivation, its ownership is acknowledged and respected as long as the family actually cultivates it. What the Indian collects of the natural products of the country and what he produces or acquires through his own work — such as clothes, ornaments, weapons and implements, magical instruments, etc. — is also regarded as his exclusive property, although, as soon as food is in question, an unwritten moral law and social sympathy largely induces the individual owner to share it with others. The flocks of course also belong to individual families. The sheep and goats always wear property marks, so that when they are taken home from the pasture in the afternoon the Indians can easily determine who is the owner of each animal.

556 The lower Chaco tribes, particularly the Choroti and the Ashluslay, do not know of any distinctions between rich and poor, and even among the Tobas it is a comparatively rare thing that a man possesses more than his fellows. Only a few great chiefs who have made successful wars against

756 The witch doctors have, also, the power of turning themselves into animals or fire that licks up the underbrush in their path.

In order to overcome diseases, the witch doctors make use of [825] small wands which the spirits have given them; they use also the wings of several birls (yulo, carancho).

Animals as well as men can be treated by the witch doctors. An informant described to me the treatment which was given to a horse. The witch doctor first recited an enchantment and then applied suction to the horse's rump until he was able to extract a small piece of wood which he said was the cause of the malady.

[754] Some witch doctors are extremely dangerous. They start by devouring dogs and then go on to attack men. It is almost impossible to put an end to their criminal career for they revive if they are killed and if they are burned to death they will still return.

[562] Some women can become witch doctors, although they enjoy far less prestige than do the man. Their vocation is made apparent by the following signs: they spend hours on end crouched over the ground, continually swaying back and forth, finally they make an attempt to flee into the underbrush and their strength is such that several men cannot restrain them. Once off in the bush, they tear off their [17] clothes and climb a tree, where they remain for several days swaying and singing.

Magic

789 The Matacos of San Andres complain bitterly that their neigh-
●609 bors the Tobas of the Pilcomayo river are great practitioners of magic. During the period of my stay at their village a Toba arrived to visit one of his friends. Not finding him at home he went to several huts in the hope of finding him. When he left, the Matacos accused him of witchcraft and said that his comings and goings were only to gather leavings (hair, nail parings, pieces of cloth, etc.) belonging to the people he had visited. The fact is that many of the persons whose houses the Toba visited became sick, which only confirmed the Matacos' suspicions. Nevertheless no sanction whatever came from this to the supposed criminal.

5: Fock E-5 (1962) 1963 SI7 Mataco SI7

583 this will not influence her choice and that of her parents. An abortion will be
581 produced artificially should the man prove to be inacceptable. Should the girl
847 prove to be pregnant at a time when she has started a new, more stable, relation, the new young man will demand that she aborts.

585 Thus the consummation of the marriage, the creation of a family, is, for the
591 Mataco, identical with the commencement of a completely valid marriage. As a rule the family moves shortly after the birth to its own hut, though still near
[178] the girl's parents. Village matrilocality is permanent, and until about 40 years
[342] ago, when communal houses were still the most common, the sharing of a hut with the wife's family for a whole lifetime, was the rule.

593 Already in connexion with her initiation each girl is given certain advice by
[881] her mother concerning the proper behaviour as a married person. The mother
[867] will tell her, for example, that she must treat her coming in-laws as though they
[606] were her own parents and that she must always be generous when it is a matter of sharing food with them. She will also counsel the girl to show respect to her future husband, fetching fuel, for example, when he is away fishing, and ensuring that there is plenty of water for him when he returns from hunting. Willingness to cooperate and mutual respect are very typical of the relations between man and wife. The man's position in marriage is formally the same. He must regard his
[606] wife's parents as his own, must be generous to them, though in fact they do not treat him with the same indulgence they would show a son. In any conflict that may arise they side with the daughter against the husband. Should he not be sufficiently industrious he will be sent out to fish or hunt, and if unsuccessful he will be reproached, something that no Mataco would do to a son. If a man quarrels with his mother-in-law he is chased away. His happiness depends to a high degree upon an equable temperament and ability to obtain food. But as his wife will
[476] always share his bag with relations and friends, and because matrilocality prevails, the wife's family will always obtain the lion's share of what he brings back.

606 The position of a son-in-law as a stranger in another band also raises difficulties
609 for him. In case of dispute his wife's family or other local people will be able to say: "We don't know him and don't trust him". Perhaps he has no kin in the village to vouch for him and give him assistance. The position of a son-in-law can thus be compared to that of a stranger in a big city, irresponsible because he is unknown, and overlooked for that reason.

593 The mutual relations of married couples are naturally stamped by matrilo-
[554] cality and the woman's very considerable occupational effort, which together give the wife a good social position in relation to her husband. In the meantime it is more through the wife's family that this status is manifested. As between the sexes the husband still dominates. As a rule it is the husband who has the say, but it is often the woman who decides what is to be said. The latent tension
[182] between family and sex results in a curiously unintegrated behaviour. By day a man and wife behave almost like strangers to each other. They are extremely terse